

ON U. S. PRESIDENT NIXON'S PROPOSED VISIT TO CHINA

US President Nixon's proposed visit to China has caused diverse reactions in different quarters of different countries in the world. It has been welcomed by an overwhelming majority of the peoples though some have condemned it. In our country also most of our people have welcomed it. Be that as it may, we feel that the matter should be scientifically discussed for correctly understanding it.

In view of the fact that since the liberation of China in 1949, the US imperialist rulers have all through regarded the People's Republic of China as one of their main enemies, on the plea of containing communism hatched one conspiracy after another to subvert its sovereignty and territorial integrity, violated its air space times without number, sent into Chinese territory a large number of spies and imperialist agents for sabotage, despatched the US Seventh Fleet deep into Chinese water, occupied the Taiwan Gulf, stationed US troops in Taiwan which is part and parcel of China, stubbornly refused to recognise the People's Republic of China, propagated the hated two-China idea holding the US stooge, Chiang Kai-shek, as the sole representative of China, blocked by all means China occupying its rightful place in world affairs, persistently opposed every move to seat the People's Republic of China in the UNO, constructed innumerable military bases around China to use them as spring-boards of US aggression against China and other socialist countries, formed aggressive blocs like the SEATO directed against the socialist countries in general, China in particular and the national liberation movements in East and South-East Asia, militarily attacked the People's

Democratic Republic of North Korea with the sinister design of converting North Korea into US neo-colony like South Korea and escalating the war into China and started the most barbarous war of aggression in Indo-China, the US President's open expression of his desire to visit China sometime ago, thereafter Mr. Kissinger's secret mission to Peking to arrange the Chinese invitation to the US President and finally Nixon's announcement of his proposed visit to China before May next undoubtedly signify, in the words of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the SUCI and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the day, "a defeat of the US imperialist policy of containing China before the consistent and tough anti-imperialist foreign policy of the People's Republic of China, the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialists and the anti-war movement by the American people inside the country."

Now what are the reasons for this retreat of the American imperialists? First, it is an objective reality that continuously increasing militarization of its economy for the last two and a half decades has landed the USA into an abysmal depth of economic crisis. As concomitant evils of its militarized

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Significance of 15th August and our Task

On 15th of August 1947 British rule in India came to an end and political independence was achieved. But the objectives for which the Indian people fought against the British imperialist, was not fully realised. Indian people fought against the British imperialist with a view to not only end British rule in India but also to come out from all sorts of exploitation—political, economic, social and cultural. But with the end of the British rule, the Indian bourgeoisie stepped into the shoes of the colonial exploiters and continued to exploit the people. Thus in spite of political independence, people are forced to lead a life of abject poverty, starvation and hunger. People's liberation is yet to be achieved and this is why S.U.C.I. has been observing 15th August as People's Liberation Pledge Day.

One may naturally ask how it was possible for the Indian bourgeoisie to capture power in spite of so much heroic struggles, sacrifices and martyrdom by the Indian people. The answer to this question lies in the character of our national liberation movement itself. In our national liberation struggle, the Indian bourgeoisie along with the broad masses of the Indian people were on the same anti-British platform. While the people fought to end all sorts of exploitation, the purpose of the Indian bourgeoisie was quite different from that of the Indian people. To the Indian national bourgeoisie, the British rule in India was an insurmountable obstacle for the

freest, speediest and widest development of national capital and so they took part in anti-British struggle with the expectation that they would be the sole masters of the vast Indian market when the British rule in India would end. Had there been any genuine working class leadership at that time, it would have

R. K. B.

been possible for it to capture leadership of the Indian nationalist movement and lead the Indian people to revolution and socialism. But this possibility was negated because of the absence of genuine revolutionary working class leadership. At that time the

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Shift in US Imperialist Policy from War Manoeuvres to Peace Manoeuvres

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economy, economic recessions of severe intensity are taking place periodically; its industries are not in a position to utilise their installed productive capacities and maintain the average level of production even for the time being for lack of market; unemployment has touched an all-time record and still is on the increase; acute inflation is plaguing the economy; the dollar has lost its international prestige and is on the verge of a crash; the severe strain of the cost of the Vietnam war (about 20,000 million dollars annually) on the economy has reached the breaking point. Those in our country, who are all praise for the "strength and vitality of the American economy" should do well to re-examine their views about US economy on the anvil of present-day reality and revise them. In fact, "the entire economic structure of the USA is standing today on quicksand liable to collapse any moment," as observed by our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Thus, the US imperialists are on the horns of a dilemma. Continuously increasing economic militarization for two and a half decades since the end of the Second World War has transformed US economy into an out and out war economy so much so that it is impossible now for the USA to totally pull itself out of wars. But under compelling forces of circumstances, internal and external, they cannot unleash any new war or continue the Vietnam war either. To quote Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, beloved leader and teacher of the SUCI, "We are, therefore, observing a phase, though a very temporary phase, when the US imperialist rulers are trying to switch over from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres, the two being the two edges of the same American imperialist policy.

This imperialist policy is sometimes expressed in the form of war manoeuvres and at other times in the form of peace manoeuvres. The phase of war manoeuvres is marked by continuous indulgence in localized wars while the phase of peace manoeuvres is marked by attempts to come out of war impasse and gain a temporary respite from the effects of open wars." It goes without saying that the US peace manoeuvres are not actuated by any genuine desire for peace. No imperialist state, and for that matter the USA, in these days, can want genuine peace. For, "genuine peace means death of US economy", as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh observed as far back as August 15, 1967. Even American economic experts are saying it today. Parkinson's statement that "outbreak of peace is a war declared against American economy" is an open admission of the correctness of Comrade Ghosh's assessment about present-day US economy. The peace manoeuvres by the US imperialist rulers are just stop-gap arrangements within the framework of existing militarized economy of the USA to gain a temporary respite from the effects of open wars, increase employment potential, boost up commodity production for civil consumption and give a lift to export without, of course, disturbing the present expenditure on production of military goods. Nixon's proposed visit to China is a reflection of the shift in the US imperialist policy from war manoeuvres to peace manoeuvres, an indication of attempts by the USA to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China in its bid to open the door of normal trade relations with China and maintain its influence in South-East Asia as means to expand commodity production for civil

consumption and boost up export, a concrete proof of defeat of US imperialist policy of containing China and a sign of victory of the consistently tough anti-imperialist foreign policy of the People's Republic of China.

Secondly, the myth of US supremacy in military might is, by now, exploded. The whole world is witnessing ignominious defeats of the US troops at the hands of the patriotic people of Vietnam. The USA is using whatever it can use in stopping this rot but to no effect. The Vietnamese people are winning fresh victories almost daily. If the people of a tiny country like Vietnam lacking in sophisticated and modern arms can beat back the USA then one can very easily realize what fate the American gangsters will meet with in case they ever dare militarily attack the People's Republic of China. That the US roar of containing China is all bunkum and an illusion had become patently evident to the military Generals of the USA and the Pentagon long before; it has now become evident even to the US stooges and the rulers of the US puppet governments who dance to the US tune. This exposure of weakness of US military might has made most of the puppet governments in East and South-East Asia sceptic about the wisdom of toeing anti-China US line, particularly when by toeing such anti-China policy they do not stand to gain anything rather they stand, in all probability, to lose. Besides, the peoples of these countries are growing increasingly anti-US and intensifying their struggles against US domination for complete national independence. This popular pressure coupled with their experiences of more and more national humiliation suffered at the hands of their US masters is sometimes making even these

puppet governments take anti-US stand and think of normalizing relations with China. The emergence of China as a mighty country wedded to consistently anti-imperialist, particularly anti-US-imperialist, policy has been a big factor in making these puppet governments sometimes take anti-US stand and thinking of normalizing relations with China. Then again, the East and South-East Asian countries were till the other day ruled by Great Britain, France and other imperialist Powers. In the name of helping these imperialist Powers in resisting the surge of national liberation movements of the peoples of these countries, the US imperialists penetrated into this area, gradually pushed the former ruling imperialist Powers out and ultimately established US influence there. Now that America is having a good beating, Great Britain, France and other imperialist countries are trying to improve their positions in this area at the cost of the USA by fanning anti-American feeling. All this has made the US imperialist rulers realize to their dismay that the US troops have got to be ultimately pulled out totally from South-East Asia sooner or later. And since this by no means can be avoided, they think that it would be thousand times better if the withdrawal can be made in such a way as would save, at least to some extent, their face than being thoroughly routed at the war and forced to leave South-East Asia, as it happened in case of the French imperialists after their complete military defeat at Dien Bien Phu at the hands of the Vietnamese people. This realization of hard reality has compelled the US imperialist rulers to declare the policy of phased withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam, though they have not abandoned their nefarious game of keeping ablaze as long as possible the

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China Making no Unprincipled Compromise with USA

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Indo-Chinese war by using the Asians against the Asians as cannon-fodders and try to normalize relations with China.

Thirdly, notwithstanding every effort by the US imperialists to lullaby the American people, especially the younger generation, by encouraging an easy, fast, Bohemian life connected with sex, drugs, narcotics, crime and constant excitement, finer elements in the American youths could not be destroyed for good. As a result, more and more disillusionment of the American way of life and realization of the deliberate attempts by the US imperialists to plunge the American youth into this purposeless fast life are coming up. And the youths are exploding like bombs in their rage and hatred against the US imperialist rulers who are responsible for not only creating such an intolerably hellish situation for them but also compelling them to go to the war-fronts and be killed, not for any lofty ideal but just to keep the wheels of super-profits of a few American death-merchants greasy and smoothly moving. The mounting movements by the American people at home against continuation of the Vietnam war have made the situation hot for the US imperialist rulers. The recent publication of secret documents by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* exposing the foul game the Pentagon played in escalating the Vietnam war into North Vietnam behind the back of and giving entirely false story to the US Congress and the American people has made the people more indignant. To pacify this public resentment, create confusion among the people and disrupt and weaken their movement against continuation of the Vietnam war as also keeping the coming US Presidential election, Nixon now prefers to adopt peace posture, pass him-

self on to the American people as a 'dove' rather than playing his usual natural role as a 'hawk' and declare the policy of phased withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam.

But, according to Nixon himself, the phased withdrawal of the US troops from Vietnam has already swelled the number of unemployed Americans by one million. In case of complete withdrawal, which in any event is going to take place sooner or later, there will be further increase in their number by several millions. That would mean huge contraction of the already contracted internal US market. And if the USA is to leave South-East Asia without being able to normalize relations with China then that would ultimately mean loss of US influence in this area. It would be a stunning blow to US economy indeed. Hence, the US imperialist rulers are trying to normalize relations with China in their efforts to maintain US influence and, consequently, US market in South-East Asia and get an opportunity to explore the new Chinese market.

The closed-door China policy and imposition of economic embargo on the part of the USA could do no harm to Chinese economy. The US attempts to contain China utterly failed. No doubt, the imperialist dogs, particularly the US imperialist dogs, barked but the Chinese caravan passed on. China, in spite of anti-Chinese moves by the USA, has emerged as a mighty socialist country with unlimited prospects of uninterrupted progress and prosperity. Rather, the anti-Chinese US moves had a boomerang effect. The vast and constantly expanding Chinese market, which some of the major capitalist countries have been able to explore, remained and still remains closed to the USA at a time when US economy is gasping for want of market. It is not for nothing that a

section of the US imperialists is pressing hard on the White House to lift the US economic embargo so as to enable them to trade with China. How far the People's Republic of China will allow the US imperialists to explore the Chinese market or the US imperialists will be able to explore it is yet to be seen. Only future history can tell it. But this much is certain that the US imperialists are frantically trying to explore new markets, including the vast Chinese market and maintain the South-East Asian market. Without normalization of relations with China exploration of Chinese market and maintenance of the South-East Asian market is impossible for the USA.

The Indian reactionaries are trying to paint the Chinese response to the US request for invitation to Nixon to visit China as a Sino-US move directed against India and the Soviet Union. It is a pity that the CPI in its over-zealousness to condemn China has joined the chorus. We fail to understand what purpose this slander of China by the CPI serves other than strengthening the hands of the reactionaries in our country. It is a good sign that the leadership of the CPSU has not openly condemned the Chinese move in this regard but has welcomed the normalization of the Sino-US relations. But while welcoming the normalization of the Sino-US relations it has not failed to insinuate that this normalization of relations may be used by some (meaning China) "to harm the interests of socialism, the international communist and working class movement and the anti-imperialist struggle." (Vide *Pravda's* article entitled 'On the Peking-Washington Contacts' as summarized in *New Age* dated August 1 last). But there is no valid ground for this insinuation. China has made its position perfectly

clear. "Withdrawal of US troops from Taiwan and recognition of its future status as an internal affair of the People's Republic of China were the conditions" for "any prospective visit by President Nixon to Peking." William Attwood, *Newsday's* publisher, reported it. The Japanese daily, *Ashahi Shimbun*, reported: "President Nixon's special envoy, Mr. Kissinger, made an important commitment on the basic Chinese stand that China is one represented by the People's China Government when he met Chou En-lai during the weekend." These reports make it amply clear that it is not China that is making unprincipled compromise with or giving concessions to the USA; it is the US imperialists who are in the retreat and forced to admit what is China's due. Is it a sign of harming the interests of socialism and anti-imperialist struggle, as insinuated by the Soviet leadership? Certainly not. It is, on the contrary, dictating just terms which the USA, leader of international reaction, has so long refused to admit and thereby strengthening the anti-imperialist movements. And so far as the national liberation movements in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are concerned, there can be no question of sacrificing them. Chou En-lai has made it unambiguously clear.

The Chinese stand in this regard is in conformity with the five principles adopted at Bandung Conference. Had not the US imperialists adopted the closed-door China policy immediately with the liberation of China in 1949 and further worsened the Sino-US relations in 1950 when President Truman openly declared US intention of encircling, containing and, if possible, even destroying China, the Sino-US diplomatic relations would have continued and nobody

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Normalisation of Sino-Indian Relations Immediately Called For

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would have taken any objection to that. Why then do you object now? Then again, if the Soviet Union can have normal relations with the USA, why then will heaven fall on our head, if Sino-US relations are normalized? In dealing with such an important issue as the Sino-US rapprochement, it is expected that one should not be guided by anti-China bias. It is true that the US imperialists may try to exploit the normalization of the Sino-US relations to their imperialist interests and against peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. It would be only natural for the US imperialists. For it is ingrained in their character. But this cannot be a logic for opposing the attempt to normalize the Sino-US relations. There is no denying the fact that the present state of world communist movement has given opportunity to the imperialists not only to carry on attacks on socialism, international communist movement and national liberation movements more fiercely than before but even to militarily attack and continue that aggression on socialist countries as well. The mounting imperialist attacks on peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, that we are witnessing now, can be successfully repulsed if the communist parties stop mutual calling of names, do not allow the mutual relationships between them (which has now been replaced by animosity) to be worsened while conducting ideological struggles to resolve the ideological differences that now confront and have brought about a split in the world communist movement, fully grasp the implications of the dialectical materialist principle of unity-struggle-unity and restore the unity of the world proletariat and the world communist movement and if the socialist states re-establish the solidarity of the Socialist Camp and act

unitedly against their common enemy, the imperialists. When the Soviet leadership has been speaking of the necessity of restoring unity among the different communist parties and of the world communist movement, can we not expect that it should not at least indulge in anti-Chinese statements and moves, interfere in the internal affairs of the fraternal communist parties and fall a victim to big party chauvinism and super-Power mentality? Unfortunately, among the communists there is an honest feeling that the Soviet leadership is not showing proletarian wisdom and behaviour expected of it in this regard. The Chinese leaders also should realize that in spite of many serious deviations from the path of socialism towards restoration of capitalism, the Soviet state has not as yet ceased to be a socialist state and the CPSU has not as yet ceased to be a communist party, though the Soviet leadership is out and out revisionist. As such, the Chinese attack of the Soviet Union as Social-Fascist and Social-Imperialist should be stopped. On behalf of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary of the Party and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinker of the day in his *An Appeal to the Leaders of the International Communist Movement* in September, 1963 said: "Whatever may be the ideological differences, no serious communist can do any thing that has the effect of disrupting the unity of the world proletariat and the international communist movement, weakening the consolidation and solidarity of the Socialist Camp comprising the different socialist states and creating obstacles in the path of presenting a united face by the socialist states against the imperialists, their common enemy. *The maintenance of unity of the working class and the international communist movement and of solidarity of the Socialist*

*Camp is now of paramount importance. All other issues are subordinated to it. ** Unity of the working class and the international communist movement, solidarity of the Socialist Camp and united movement by the socialist states against the imperialists—they have got to be achieved without any further delay, serious ideological differences between the communist parties notwithstanding."* Unfortunately, this appeal went unheeded to the detriment of world communist movement and advantage of the imperialists in mounting attacks on peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. We again make the same appeal to the leaders of the world communist movement.

The Indian people are naturally happy at the defeat of the US imperialist policy of containing China. They, therefore, hail the attempt to normalize the Sino-US relations and demand that the Sino-Indian relations also should be normalized. It is high time that the Government of India should without delay take appropriate measures to normalize the Sino-Indian relations. Not to speak of revolutionary point of views, even from purely nationalist point of view such normalization is immediately called for. We all know that China was liberated two years after India gained political independence and at that time India was far ahead of China in industrial

development. But at present the position is reversed—China has emerged as a Titan in recognition of which even the powerful imperialist states are out to make friendship with it while India's development is limping and India today is virtually friendless. Had the Sino-Indian relations been normal, then the Government of India would have been in a much better position to help the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh, take up developmental programmes and project its image in the international sphere. However, it is fruitless to cry over spilt milk. But if the Sino-Indian relations are normalized now, and India, along with China, plays a consistently anti-imperialist role then India can regain the position and prestige it used to enjoy internationally at the time of Bandung Conference. Sino-Indian *detente* will be a bulwark of peace not only in the Indian sub-continent but also in Asia, a really effective guarantee of help and ultimate victory of the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh and pave the way to development and progress. If it is possible for the USA to try to normalize its relations with China, its bitterest enemy, then why cannot India normalize relations with China? There is no earthly reason of not doing it. It is the duty and responsibility of the left and democratic parties and the people in our country to make the Government of India realize the necessity of revising its China policy and normalizing the Sino-Indian relations immediately.

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY DAY OBSERVED

On 20th July last on the occasion of observance of Vietnam Solidarity Day, a big meeting was held at Gauhati in Assam under the joint auspices of Assam State Committee of U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani), of D. S. O. and D. Y. O. and the meeting was presided over by Com. Bimal Chakravarty, a notable trade union leader. The meeting adopted among others, resolutions hailing the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle in Vietnam and in Bangladesh. After the meeting, a big procession went along the main streets of Gauhati raising slogans on anti-imperialist movements and need of solidarity of the toiling people.

The Orissa State Committee of All India Democratic Students' Organisation (D. S. O.) had organised mass meetings, group sittings, rallies and demonstrations at various places of Orissa in observance of Vietnam Solidarity Week from 16th July to 22nd July last.

Potential Danger of Fascism in Congress(R)

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party which posed itself as communist, not only could not emerge as a working class party but even backstabbed the nationalist movement and thus maligned the lofty ideal of communism before the common people. This is the main reason why Indian bourgeoisie came to the leadership of the national liberation movement and steered the movement in the direction which suited them and ultimately they took over power from the British colonialists. Thus with the end of British rule, a national bourgeois state had been established.

After the transfer of power, the Indian national bourgeoisie have been trying to strengthen and consolidate the capitalist economy through various means. But in spite of much attempt the Indian bourgeoisie have not been able to get rid of the acute crisis of the capitalist economy and it is not possible for them also to come out from the impasse because of present world wide crisis of imperialism-capitalism. As such it is seen that even though the five year plans were launched with so much fanfare, the number of persons absorbed in the new employments created during plan period is much less than the number rendered unemployed in the same period. Being confronted with such baffling problems, the Indian bourgeoisie tried to stimulate the economy through militarisation. But as the sentiment of the people who are half-fed, ill-clad and undernourished might have been roused against such moves, the bourgeoisie tried to play upon the patriotic sentiment of the people by raising the bogey of the nation being in danger. The bourgeoisie asked the people on this plea to tighten their belt still further and took over emergency powers to crush legitimate democratic movement and gag the voice of democratic opposition. These measures

also could not avert the inevitable recession in the capitalist economy. Even in such an underdeveloped country like India, capitalist overproduction has been a major feature and the industries are running below the rated capacity. The Indian bourgeoisie are thus trying to invest the capital rendered idle in home market in other countries and this feature proves beyond doubt that Indian economy is gradually taking the shape of imperialist character.

Side by side it is seen that the Congress, the mouthpiece of Indian capitalist class has been pursuing certain social democratic programmes since the days of Pandit Nehru. Under progressive slogans these social democratic measures are really meant to serve and strengthen the capitalist economy by hood-winking the Indian people. Increasing investment in public sector, nationalisation of insurances, banks, transports etc. are some of these social democratic programmes. But it is known to all that the bourgeoisie take recourse to these measures as a last resort to put the capitalist economy in order by doing away with the chaos in economy. Hitler of Germany and Mussolini of Italy also took recourse to nationalisation of banks and other key industries, but no one will say that by doing so they built up socialism in Germany or in Italy; on the contrary they built up fascism, the worst enemy of mankind. As a matter of fact social democracy is the rock bottom foundation of fascism—the last resort of capitalism. And Congress since the day of Pandit Nehru has been doing the very same thing and recently Congress (R) headed by Sm. Indira Gandhi is also vigorously pursuing the same social democratic policies. Recently by introducing the Constitution Amendment Bill to modify the fundamental rights, the Congress (R) is

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By The Way

According to a reliable source, in 60 per cent of the total number of villages in Haryana, to be more precise in more than 4000 out of a total of 6670 villages, there is no facility for drinking water fit of human consumption at present. This is the position after twenty-four years of independence of the country and completion of several Five Year Plans. It is just an indication of how much the present rulers of India feel for the rural population.

The DMK Government has decided to license about 11,000 toddy, arrack and liquor shops all over TamilNadu and expects an additional revenue of Rs. 20 crores in current financial year on account of sales tax, excise and licence fees. It means that the liquor trade will have at least a turn-over of Rs. 220 crores in the period from September to April next. Lottery, horse-racing and encouragement to liquor consumption, as means to augment the coffer, perhaps fit in well with the so-called declared policy of uplifting the material and cultural level of the Indian people!

It is reported that the number of Indian joint ventures abroad has almost doubled in the last two years. Upto June, 1969 there were 65 approved joint ventures of which 14 were in actual production. In June, 1971 the number of such joint ventures was 127 of which 27 were actually producing. This fact proves that Indian finance capital is increasingly exploiting the natural resources and the peoples of foreign countries. Exploitation of the natural resources and the people of one country by the finance capital of another country is what is known as imperialist exploitation. India then is emerging more and more as an imperialist country.

The cost of making one tonne of steel in the USA is Rs. 1070. It is Rs. 835 in the UK, Rs. 795 in West Germany, Rs. 790 in Japan and Rs. 635 in India. But nevertheless the HSL with three steel plants and subsidiary concerns had incurred a loss of Rs. 173 crores upto the end of the year 1969-70 whereas the steel plants in the other countries mentioned above are making fabulous profits. Why talk of foreign steel concerns? The gross profit of TISCO in 1970-71 amounted to Rs. 36.27 crores as against Rs. 24.51 crores in 1969-70. A glaring testimony to efficiency of Government management indeed!

The Calcutta dailies published a few days back a court case report against Ramen Sen alias Wazul Haque, cashier and accountant of the West Bengal branch of the CPI (M). It was alleged in the report that although the accused was a Hindu, he was passing himself as a Muslim and was living with a Muslim kept woman in whose name he had purchased an Ambassador car and a lorry in April last. It was further alleged that Rs. 24,190.00 was seized from his possession. Sri Sen must have been a very responsible leader of the CPI (M), otherwise, he would not have been put in charge of cash, account and important documents of the Party. How a man indulging in such acts as alleged can hold such a responsible position in the CPI (M)? And what type of the party is the CPI (M) in which such a person can hold such a responsible position? The CPI (M) workers ought to find answers to these questions.

"The living soul of any lofty ideal, philosophy or worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard"—Com. Shibdas Ghosh

[Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, leader, teacher and General Secretary of the S U C I, on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the foundation of the Party, made an illuminating speech on the freedom struggle in Bangladesh. We published a summary of a portion of his speech in our issue dated July, 1 last. We reproduce below a summary of the rest of his speech. The delay in publishing this portion is sincerely regretted.—Editor, P.E.]

We are not as yet hearing the freedom fighters of Bangladesh wax eloquent on the noble ideal of revolution and Marxism-Leninism. It might be that it has not come out in the open but is flowing within. The struggle they are now conducting is the struggle for national independence, which we had waged till 1947. They are fighting there heroically against their enemies, staking their all, even sacrificing their lives. They themselves are dying in killing their enemies. But they are disciplined and not oppressive. Whereas in our country, in case political differences appear in democratic movements, we forsake expected norms of conduct, we bid goodbye to cultural and ethical standard expected of us. As soon as differences in opinion occur, we do not hesitate to show disrespect to and disparage our opponents, behave like barbarians and commit murder.

In our opinion it is necessary to examine causes of this difference in nature between the movement in Bangladesh and that in our country. It should be kept in mind that the ideal of nationalism, which in the period of freedom struggle in our country used to be held as a lofty ideal, is at work in the present freedom struggle of Bangladesh. But after the attainment of political independence and establishment of an independent bourgeois state in our country, that ideal of nationalism has no more any effectivity in our social life. It cannot inspire any longer the people of our country as

before. At the same time what is now being propagated by the big so-called Marxist-Leninist parties in the name of ideology is not Marxism-Leninism either. It is slogan-mongering *simpliciter*. We all know that the kernel, the living soul, of any lofty ideal, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. The kernel, the living soul, of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in its cultural and moral values. If that moral standard of Marxist ideal, thanks to the big so-called Communist Parties in our country, has objectively gone below the standard of those who are fighting for national independence in Bangladesh then where will the mass movements conducted by such parties lead our country to?

We like to remind those leaders and workers of big political parties, who on the strength of increased mass support behind their parties try to establish the correctness of their political lines, of just one or two historical incidents. It cannot be denied that sometimes under definite conjuncture of circumstances millions of people muster behind fake revolutionaries or even die-hard reactionaries being confused and the country witnesses mighty mass upheavals. History is replete with instances of such incidents. None can forget that at one time almost the entire German people from the workers to the intellectuals were behind Hitler and his slogan of 'dawn

of a new era'. Certainly, this mass-backing, this support by millions and millions of German people, does not establish that Hitler assembled them under the real banner of progress, development and socialism in Germany. The truth is that Hitler could, might be temporarily, succeed in confusing the German people under cloak of progressive slogans. At that time, taking into cool calculation the low level of consciousness of the masses Hitler very cleverly raised some slogans and the German people, failing to understand the real implications of those slogans, took them up as the only way of development of Germany and progress of the German working class and gave Hitler all support. As a result, Germany faced a catastrophe.

What was the position of the Communist Party of Indonesia? The Communist Party of a small country like Indonesia had, before the counter-revolutionary upsurge there, a membership strength of about thirty lakhs. With their own cadres at every level of the administration, police and the armed forces, the Communist Party of Indonesia, it seems, began to think that they had almost completed the revolution. But what was the reality? They only played with the revolution. Those who thus want to make the revolution by using the bourgeois administrative machinery and in union with the capitalist or imperialist state system, expose the entire party to the state. This is what actually happened in Indonesia. When the tide of reaction flowed and the military moved in, the entire Party was smashed to smithereens in the face of attacks by the state power. Because, as a result of entire Party being completely exposed to the state, nothing

of the Party remained secret to the state machinery. This was their main mistake in the technical side i.e. in the way they wanted to make the revolution.

Their second mistake lay in this that they never tried to assess at what stage the cultural, moral and aesthetic standard of the people existed and how far their sense of social responsibility and duty had developed along with the increase in strength of the Party nor did they constantly strive to uplift that standard and sense of the people.

In our country also, when the workers and supporters of the big so-called revolutionary parties move in processions along the streets making vulgar gesticulations and swinging their waists or when in arguing they most unashamedly use vulgar and abusive words without any provocations then it becomes evident at what level the cultural and aesthetic standard of this democratic force exists. If this be the cultural and aesthetic standard of the political workers and common men then these workers and the people, who instal the so-called revolutionary parties in governmental power through elections or bring them down therefrom, it should be borne in mind, may some day turn into powerful instruments of reaction before a different political current, as it happened in Indonesia.

These big so-called revolutionary parties in our country are not taking any lesson from history as to how the millions and millions of the Indonesian people who used to assemble at the call of the Indonesian Communist Party got lost at the most difficult time of the Party. The people assembled in thousands on fields and factories, marched

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Organise Mass Movements to Bring Down Prices

For sometime past, particularly during the last Lok Sabha election campaign, Sm. Indira Gandhi and other top leaders of the Congress (R) waxed eloquent on the measures the Union Government would take to bring down the continually rising prices of essential commodities in our country.

This assurance given by the Congress (R) leaders to the people has been observed more in violation. Practically nothing has been done by the Union Government to stabilise the prices. In fact, the movement of prices during the period since the assurance was given has been upward throughout. Compared to last year when Sm. Indira Gandhi presented her first budget, the price level by now is about 10 to 12 per cent higher.

The result of this rise in prices is that the Indian rupee has lost its purchasing power. Taking 1939 as the base year, the purchasing power of the rupee has now depreciated to about 15 paise. And if 1950-51 is taken as the base year then it would be roughly 45 paise. One can easily realise the magnitude of sufferings of the toiling millions in our country as a result of this sharp fall in the purchasing power of the rupee.

It is clear that the Union Government is not at all serious in bringing down the prices of essential commodities. For, had it been serious, it would have taken steps to bring down the price level. It is admitted on all hands that heavy indirect taxation in the form of Excise duties, entry tax, terminal tax, octroi, etc., indiscriminate deficit financing and price manipulation by monopolists and speculators mainly account for present high prices of essential commodities. Had Sm. Gandhi sincerely desired to bring down prices, her Government would have drastically cut down indirect taxation. But the indication in this regard is just the

reverse. As for example, Central excise duties have gone up from Rs. 71.50 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 1823.50 crores in 1970-71. In other words, in a period of 20 years Central excise duties have increased about twenty-five times. Same is the position in case of other indirect taxes. The revenue earnings from general sales tax and Central sales tax during the period of 10 years from 1960-61 to 1970-71 have gone up by Rs. 380 crores and Rs. 114.50 crores respectively. During the corresponding period sales tax on motor spirits has increased from Rs. 16.30 crores to Rs. 51.68 crores.

Now about deficit financing. It has been allowed to pass all limits. In 1950-51 the total currency in notes, coins, etc. with the public was to the tune of Rs. 1406.52 crores. In 1969-70 it increased to Rs. 4008.59 crores. Under conditions of such indiscriminate deficit financing price level cannot be lowered.

It is well-known that under capitalist system monopolists and speculators manipulate prices of commodities. With huge money at their disposal (white money as well as black money) aided by loans and advances received from banks, the capitalists buy up essential commodities, corner them, create artificial scarcity of such goods in the market, manipulate the prices and fleece the people for maximum profit. Increased production under this condition is no guarantee of the lowering of prices. For, in spite of increased production, the powerful capitalists and speculators can corner the

commodities so produced and manipulate prices to their advantage.

Unless these main causes are removed in actuality all promise of bringing down prices of essential commodities boils down to empty talk. The Congress (R) Government up till now has taken no step in the right direction. It has not reduced indirect taxation; on the contrary, it is raising the taxation. Deficit financing, far from being controlled, is

being practised more indiscriminately. And in place of attempts to check price manipulation by hoarders, speculators, black-marketeers by introducing all out state trading in essential commodities, those anti-social profiteers have been given a completely free hand in carrying on their nefarious game of price manipulation of essential commodities.

These anti-people policies and activities of the Union
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Build up democratic movement in the correct path

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along the streets in processions and stood behind the Communist Party of Indonesia. But when the storm of reaction began to blow with full fury and in combination with the religious fanatics the state started its crusade in liquidating the Communist Party, then it was found that the popular force which earlier backed the communists had gone over to the side of reaction and was co-operating with the state power in liquidating communists themselves. The Communist Party of Indonesia never cared to assess the mental make-up and the direction of the mind of the people at large outside their thirty lakhs members. For, they were over-confident on the strength of their thirty lakhs members. It did not strike them any time that, however big the membership strength of their Party might have been, they were in minority compared to the total number of the people in the country, so to say, a drop in the ocean.

It is for this reason that all great revolutionaries have taught the revolutionary parties to always bear in mind that the masses of the people, who actively take part in revolutionary battles on the streets along with the revolutionary party, are in a minority compared to the people at large. No revolutionary party can

ignore the mentality and the direction of mind of this popular force at the time of conducting the revolutionary struggle. Because, it is true that since this vast multitude of people are not organised, they cannot develop effective resistance movement, even if they so desire but if the mass-movements are not conducted correctly and suffer from mistakes and defects then discontent against the movements may begin to develop internally among these unorganised masses. And in case the party cannot timely detect this mental condition of the people and, accordingly, rectify its policy, behaviour and activities, the discontent gradually begins to spread without the knowledge of the party and one day under suitable conditions the people throw that party into a dustbin.

Today before the democratic movement of our country that danger has appeared. For that reason it has become necessary for us to view the freedom struggle in Bangladesh so seriously. We have to take appropriate lessons from the freedom struggle of Bangladesh in our attempt to free ourselves from self-deception, conceit and cultural degeneration and raise the level of mass movements. If we can do that then it will help us a lot in correctly conducting the future democratic movements of our country.

Build up SUCI the Real Revolutionary Party in India

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attempting to create the illusion that it is trying to establish socialism. But curiously the big left parties like CPI and CPI (M), instead of exposing the real intention of Congress (R) are lending support to these so-called progressive measures both on the floor of Parliament as well as outside. These parties do not understand that the taking over of an industry or nationalisation is no socialisation. On the contrary these measures, in reality, strengthen the capitalist economy. Engels as far back as 1878, exposed the hollowness of the idea of spurious socialism in his *Anti-Dühring*, in which he wrote:—"But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts or into state ownership does not do away with the capitalist nature of the productive forces. In the joint stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage workers—the proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution".

(Part III Socialism II Theoretical page 384). In spite of such clear elucidation of the character of state ownership, by Engels, parties like CPI and CPI (M) continue to support the nationalisation of banks as progressive measures and a step forward. It is SUCI alone who exposed the real character of nationalisation in its resolution adopted by the Central Committee under the leadership of Com. Shibdas Ghose, the General Secretary of the Party, which stated:—"For a capitalist state when the bourgeoisie takes recourse to nationalisation, it does so in the aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about a coalescence of monopolies with the state and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid" (Extracts from the C.C. resolution of our Party on bank nationalisation, dated 30.8.69).

When Indira Congress is posing as a great danger to the Indian masses as potential fascist force, the left movement which can effectively counter this danger is in total disarray. Even a few years back when the combined strength of all the left parties were less than half of the strength of CPM, mighty movements were launched. But today no such movement can be launched though the strength of CPM alone increased to 113 in the last dissolved Assembly. This is due to the fact that the increase in strength of CPM has been possible at the cost of left and democratic movement and also at the cost of unity of the left and democratic forces. CPM by its left opportunist disruptionist policy wrecked the U.F. with a view to form Government by getting absolute majority in the Assembly. This politics of CPM gave a burial of United Front which came into being through so much struggles and sacrifices and emerged as the only instru-

Mass Protest Demonstration on Police Atrocity in Birbhum

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 12th August last, a big rally of workers, peasants, youths, students and intellectuals was held at Raja Subodh Mullick Square Calcutta under the auspices of West Bengal State Committee of SUCI to voice protest against the increasing offensive of and the reign of terror let loose in Birbhum by the police, the jotedars, the anti-socials and the so-called Naxalites particularly attacking the S.U.C. workers, supporters and other common people connected with democratic mass movements.

In the name of containing the Naxalites, the police is actually ganging up with the anti-socials, the jotedars, the so-called Naxalites and some political parties veiling as Naxalites in order to crush the S.U.C. in Birbhum, its various mass organisations and to destroy the mass movements there. This is clearly borne out by the fact that as a result of a deep laid conspiracy by a combination of these notorious forces, two important cadres of S.U.C. like Com. Naren De and Com. Jagannath Banerjee along with four other party workers have been killed and many severely injured, about 350 SUC workers and people

ment of struggle of the toiling masses. On the other hand CPI and Forward Bloc being exasperated by the left opportunist disruptionist politics of CPM have dealt a blow to the unity of left and democratic forces from the rightist direction by supporting Congress(R) which is the representative of the aggregate interest of the monopoly capitalists and as such the main enemy in Indian soil.

Under the circumstances, it is appealed to one and all to seriously ponder whether they will continue to support these parties like CPI and CPM which through their actions and utterances have thoroughly exposed themselves as non-working class parties or they will come forward to strengthen SUCI, the only revolutionary working class party in India, which has taken correct stand on all important national and international questions but due to relative organisational weakness has not been able to steer the left politics in the correct direction.

engaged in democratic mass movements arrested and not less than thousand false cases have been instituted by police against them to serve their evil designs. After the rally, a big procession went towards Rajbhavan and a memorandum was given to be handed over to the Governor of West Bengal. The memorandum urges upon the Government to take some immediate necessary steps to stop such wanton attacks on SUC workers, supporters and the people and bring nomalcy in Birbhum as quickly as possible.

PRICE SPIRALLING

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Government are bringing about economic ruination of the people and severely adding to their miseries. 'Goribi Hatao' slogan of Sm. Gandhi has objectively taken the form of 'Garibi Badao', increase the poverty and sufferings of the people. Our people, therefore, must not harbour any illusion about Sm. Gandhi and her Government. Unless they can compel the Government by organised mighty movements to reduce indirect taxation on essential commodities, control deficit financing and introduce strict all out state trading in such goods, the unbearable burden of high prices cannot be decreased.

Due to acute financial stringency it is increasingly becoming difficult to publish this paper regularly. As such, all subscribers and patrons who have not yet cleared up their dues are requested to do so immediately. For those whose subscriptions are over, renewal of subscription is earnestly solicited—Ed. P.E.